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PEACE NEWS REPORTER

FRIDAY, April 28, has been announced as the day when a nationwide Civil Defence exercise will be held in the United States. For several years the US Government has organ-

PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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London, April 14, 1961

SIXPENCE

US Air Express
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A LAST PUSH AT THE GALLOWS

By Frank Dawtry

Secretary, 1946-48, of the National Council for
the Abolition of the Death Penalty

AS I have no knowledge of military strategy, I do not know what the great commanders do when they find themselves with a battle half won. Presumably they mass their efforts and wait for a strategic moment to finish off the job, but they must do so fully aware that the enemy is probably planning to do the same, or that he will be strengthening his defences.

This is something like that position in which we stand now in the campaign for the abolition of the death penalty. The campaign was fought in small battles over the last century when one after another of the capital crimes was removed from the black list. During the last 95 years, except in wartime, the death penalty has been used only for the crime of murder.

TIETH CENTURY, Roy Calvert's methods were repeated and his conclusions confirmed under modern conditions in the Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment.

Campaign

In the years between, the campaign had been carried on by those associated with Roy Calvert, with Mrs. Theodora Calvert as chairman. John Paton as secretary slogged away in the lean years and in the standstill

Canterbury expressed a widely-held opinion that the country could not go back to the *status quo*, and in the autumn the appointment of the Royal Commission was announced.

This was the major outcome of the years of campaigning, and abolitionists at that time could at least regard this as the beginning of the end.

The Commission was strangely precluded from discussing total abolition, but was required to discover whether, and how, the use of capital punishment could be restricted or modified.

Circumstances

It sat for four years. Its members visited abolitionist and non-abolitionist countries and states. It examined masses of statistical information, and it considered the establishment of degrees of murder and the classification of murders into categories. It decided that none of these were satisfactory as the circumstances of every murder vary so considerably.

The Commission finally decided that a jury, after finding a guilty verdict against a

Civil Defence protest in USA

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

FRIDAY, April 28, has been announced as the day when a nationwide Civil Defence exercise will be held in the United States. For several years the US Government has organised these exercises to convince its people that war is not obsolete.

Top military strategists make the admission that millions will perish in a nuclear war. Some put the figure at over 120,000,000. However, in order to allay the fears roused by such admissions all the services of mass propaganda will be used to focus people's attention on the few million who may survive.

EXERCISE

Part of this propaganda is the annual Civil Defence exercise. It is obligatory for people to obey the directions given to them by the Civil Defence authorities. The rule is applied with varying degrees of firmness in different parts of the States.

In New York the matter is taken very seriously. Sirens are sounded and traffic comes to a halt for several minutes. The streets are cleared and people have to go to the nearest shelter which is clearly sign-posted.

When the exercise was held last year over 1,000 people gathered in Central Hall Park, New York. After the sirens were sounded 500 of them refused to take shelter. They laid themselves open to arrest under the State Emergency Defence Act and one year's imprisonment. Selective arrests were made but the greater number were left to go free.

Similar demonstrations are planned to take place on April 28. Sponsors of the Civil Defence Protest Committee include such well-known names as Dwight MacDonald, Norman Mailer, Lewis Mumford, Dr. David Reisman and Dr. Russell Stabler. The organising secretary is David McReynolds, field secretary of the War Resisters' League.

the job, but they must do so fully aware that the enemy is probably planning to do the same, or that he will be strengthening his defences.

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Thirty years ago the late Roy Calvert launched a new and major campaign to remove the penalty finally from the laws of this country. He died far too soon to see any results, but he laid down the pattern of attack. By carefully verified facts he proved that in this country abolition of the death penalty had not been followed by any increase in the crimes for which it ceased to be used, and that in other countries its abolition for the crime of murder had not been followed by any increase of murder. Twenty years after the publication of these and other conclusive arguments in the classic CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE TWEN-

TIETH CENTURY, Roy Calvert's methods were repeated and his conclusions confirmed under modern conditions in the Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment.

Campaign

In the years between, the campaign had been carried on by those associated with Roy Calvert, with Mrs. Theodora Calvert as chairman. John Paton as secretary slogged away in the lean years and in the standstill days of the war, and after he went to Parliament in 1945 it was my responsibility to keep the campaign going in its most exciting phase which culminated in the debates on the Criminal Justice Bill in 1947 and 1948.

The campaign had a short-lived victory when the House of Commons in April, 1948, amended the Bill, against the Labour Government's advice, by adding a clause suspending the use of the death penalty—but the Lords reversed this seven weeks later. A compromise plan to limit this penalty only to certain categories of murder was also defeated, but the Archbishop of

What the papers don't say

From our Glasgow correspondent.

THE Scottish editions of the three "quality" Sunday papers completely ignored the London to Holy Loch march last weekend. Similarly, the *Scottish Sunday Express* and the *Sunday Mail* (a Daily Mirror Group paper) made no mention of the march.

But the *Sunday Post*, the paper with the largest circulation of any Sunday newspaper in Scotland, carried a long centre page story purporting to tell the "truth about the Ban-the-Bomb march." It also printed a letter reporting the existence of a campaign for nuclear disarmament in the USSR.

The tone of the article was patronising and sought to show that the reported 22 marchers were not "typical Britons," and that the reception they had met with was one of "indifference tinged with curiosity."

But the surprise to those who know Scottish newspaper was that the notoriously complacent *Sunday Post* carried an article at all. Full details of the route through Scotland were given and a figure of a thou-

sand demonstrators at the Holy Loch was mentioned—a figure already exceeded at the demonstration organised by the Scottish Council for Nuclear Disarmament to welcome the arrival of the Proteus.

Although the *Sunday Post* urges marchers to "save their shoe leather," this will not deter many from giving their fullest support.

An interesting pattern is beginning to emerge from a study of the press reporting of nuclear disarmament activity in Scotland. The *Scotsman* itself is fair minded to the point of alarming some of its more conservative readers. The *Glasgow Herald* shrugs an editorial shoulder or sneers. The *Scottish Daily Express*, now that it can no longer ignore the demonstrations, plays up the slightest element of sensation and stresses the honest worthiness of the American sailors in our midst. The *Scottish Daily Mail* tries to beat the *Express* to its scoops, while the *Daily Record* (another Daily

Circumstances

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The Commission finally decided that a jury, after finding a guilty verdict against a murderer, should be re-empanelled to hear all the relevant information about the offender and his background and the arguments on mitigation and should then make a second decision whether the sentence to be passed should be death, or life imprisonment. If this idea was not acceptable, the Commission suggested, the only problem remaining was whether the death penalty should be retained or abolished.

The Government did not accept the recommendations. Meantime, however, Timothy Evans was executed, Ruth Ellis was executed, and the John Christie case had shattered the foundations of those who believed that no innocent man could be hanged. Public opinion was roused, and after proddings had produced no result from the Government, Sidney Silverman introduced an abolition bill to Parliament, and after long delay this was passed by the House of Commons in June, 1956, only to be thrown out by the Lords a month later.

Categories

But the Government had to act, and the Homicide Bill was introduced and became law in March, 1957. This provided for limited categories of murder (by shooting, in the course of robbery; while resisting arrest; the murder of a policeman or prison officer; and a second murder) to be capital, and the rest to carry a life sentence or to be regarded as manslaughter. The Act in part embodied the uneasy compromises which had been rejected by the House in 1948, and rejected again by the Royal Commission after full and objective analysis.

This, then, was the half victory—the Act certainly reduced the number of executions, for which we can be thankful, but it retained the belief in the death penalty, and so it retains all the paraphernalia of execution, the hangman as a public servant, the

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FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the
Movement for Colonial Freedom

ON THE CAIRO CONFERENCE

THE All-Africa Conference at Cairo adopted resolutions which cover thirty-three foolscap pages. I did not think the conference could possibly yield such thorough documents.

For three days heads of delegations delivered reports. We all got a little weary; how much simpler it would be if the reports were circulated! During the fourth day five Commissions thrashed out the drafts of resolutions. Finally came an evening session of the conference to endorse them.

I marvel that the Commissions, each attended by about 30 delegates from as many countries, and debating in two languages, ever reached any conclusions. Yet at the end the documents provide almost an encyclopaedia of current events in Africa. One would have liked a more considered discussion by the full conference, but by then everyone was too tired for reason.

Radicalism

The resolutions are more radical than have yet come from an African conference. I am not sure that they are all realistic. In part, they are an expression of the challenging mood of Africa. In part, they reflect the composition of the conference.

This was a conference of movements, not of Governments. No African State was represented by a Minister, except the United Arab Republic; its Foreign Minister presided. Many of the independent nations had Party delegations, but for the most part the conference reflected peoples still engaged in the struggle for freedom. They are less weighted by responsibility.

Congo Resolution

The Congo resolution seemed to me the least realistic. It called for the expulsion of Belgian and other mercenaries and demanded the reconvening of Parliament. That's practical. But it also called for recognition of the Gizenga Government as "the only legitimate government of the in-

Feeling was intense about Central Africa. The Commonwealth was asked to expel the Federation as a "pocket edition of the apartheid policies of the Union of South Africa," the Afro-Asian delegations in the UN were called on to raise the issue in the Assembly, and the independent African States were urged to apply sanctions. The proposed constitutional changes in the Rhodesias were condemned and independence with "one man one vote" claimed. This is the scene of crisis in "British" Africa.

Popular Rebellion

The situation in Angola was described as a "popular rebellion," on the one hand, and "barbarian repression" on the other. The African States were asked to consider breaking diplomatic and commercial relations with Portugal.

By next year events in Angola will drive the Congo from the front pages of the papers.

Perhaps the most significant item in the resolution on Kenya was an appeal for African unity. The joint refusal of KANU and KADU to enter a Government whilst Kenyatta is restricted was cemented at Cairo. Two names were on everyone's lips: Lumumba and Kenyatta. Their portraits hung on each side of the platform.

The delegates welcomed two victories for independence: Sierra Leone immediately and Tanganyika before the end of the year. West Africans begin to take independence in their area as a matter of course, but the

WAR ON WANT AMBULANCE

visits North London on its way to the Orthodox and Invalides' Home and St. Mary's Maternity Hospital, Jerusalem. Message of greetings presented on behalf

Tanganyika will disarm

eyes of East and Central Africans lit with new hope when they heard of Nyerere's success.

Before I conclude I must refer to a remarkable statement by Julius Nyerere in a *New Statesman* interview (24/3/61). I read it in the plane returning from Cairo. The statement is so important that I quote it fully:

"One thing Africa could do which could be very helpful is to refuse to arm. And there would be very good reasons for such a refusal.

"If we arm in Tanganyika, no one would believe me if I said we were arming in order to defend Tanganyika from possible aggression by Britain or America or India or China or the USSR, because I could never defend Tanganyika against these world Powers. So why should we arm? We could only be arming against Kenya or Nyasaland or Uganda.

"It is madness for Africa at this stage to arm against Africans. One contribution I think we could make to the present history of the world is to refuse to arm, and really set an example to the other continents of the world."

Many of us have often said that a free Africa would contribute to peace by its neutralism and rejection of nuclear weapons. But Nyerere has presented us with a bigger hope than we have ever dared to express.

HOLY LOCH MARCH DIARY

TOMORROW (SATURDAY): Leave Loughborough (All Saints' Church), 8.30 a.m.; arrive Nottingham for Rally, 4 p.m.

APRIL 16 (SUNDAY): Leave Market Square, Nottingham, 10 a.m.; arriving Ripley, 7 p.m. Rally in Ripley Market Place, 7.30 p.m.

APRIL 17 (MONDAY): Leave Market Place, Ripley, 9.30 a.m.; arrive Chesterfield, 4 p.m.

APRIL 18 (TUESDAY): Leave Town Hall, Chesterfield, 10 a.m.; Rally at Sheffield (12 o'clock Site), 4.45 p.m.; arrive Templeborough Boundary, Rotherham, 6.15 p.m.; Rally at Frederick St. Car Park, Rotherham, 7.15 p.m.

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APRIL 21 (FRIDAY): Leave Northgate, Providence St., Wakefield, 8.20 a.m.; arrive Black Bull Street, Leeds, 12.30 p.m.

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Congo Resolution

The Congo resolution seemed to me the least realistic. It called for the expulsion of Belgian and other mercenaries and demanded the reconvening of Parliament. That's practical. But it also called for recognition of the Gizenga Government as "the only legitimate government of the indivisible Republic of the Congo" and the "dismissal of Dag Hammarskjöld equally responsible (with General Kettani) for the murder of Lumumba."

I'm afraid the Gizenga Government cannot now be sustained as authoritative over the whole of the Congo. The charge against Hammarskjöld is unfair, however much United Nations policy contributed to the power of Kasavubu, Tshombe and Mobutu.

On these issues I differ from many of my friends, and I write personally. I would like to see the Congo indivisible, but it is an artificial colonial unit, and I don't think it can be held together except by federation. Hammarskjöld has made mistakes, but he had an impossible task.

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visits North London on its way to the Orthodox and Invalides' Home and St. Mary's Maternity Hospital, Jerusalem. Message of greetings presented on behalf of the citizens of Hornsey.

Saturday, April 15 at 6.30 p.m.

Presbyterian Church, Broadway,
Muswell Hill, N.10

DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

Friday, April 14

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze: for AGM. PPU.

Saturday, April 15

LONDON, E.11: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. E.10, E.11 PPU Annual Reunion. "Concert" Bring and Buy. Pleased to see friends old and new.

Sunday, April 15—Sunday, April 16

SOUTHPORT: 5 p.m. Sat. to 5 p.m. Sun., Fernbank Guest Ho., 16 Talbot St. Speaker: J. Allen Skinner. 25s. Bookings: Llew Lloyd, 25 Derwent Av., Prescott. PPU.

Monday, April 17

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU. LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., Group AGM and "Steps to Peace? Capital Punishment," Sybil Morrison. Refreshments 6 p.m. PPU.

Tuesday, April 18

LONDON, S.W.7: 7.30 p.m. The Albert Hall. "Hanging's No Answer." Great rally of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment. Please send for your numbered seats (1s. and 2s. 6d.) from 14 Henrietta St., W.C.2. Temple Bar 3803.

Wednesday, April 19

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, 120 Heath St. "American Policy, American Protest." Bayard Rustin and Ella Winter. Hampstead CND.

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St. Inter-group discussion with Highgate Group members. "What is Your Opinion?" Edmonton PPU.

TONBRIDGE, KENT: 7.30 p.m. The Big School. "Personal Practical Peacemaking." Anthony Brooke (Rajah of Sarawak). Chairman: Rees M. Williams. (Organised by Jack K. Nutley).

Thursday, April 20

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Mr. and Mrs. Torode: "Visit to Eastern Germany." E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

Saturday, April 22

GRANGE-o-SANDS: 3 p.m. Parish Hall, Kent's Bank Rd. Eileen Fletcher: "Pacifist Fortnight Campaign." Grange Peace Group.

Friday, April 19 (MONDAY): Leave Market Place, Ripley, 9.30 a.m.; arrive Chesterfield, 4 p.m.
APRIL 18 (TUESDAY): Leave Town Hall, Chesterfield, 10 a.m.; Rally at Sheffield (12 o'clock Site), 4.45 p.m.; arrive Templeborough Boundary, Rotherham, 6.15 p.m.; Rally at Frederick St. Car Park, Rotherham, 7.15 p.m.
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LONDON, W.C.2: 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. Kingsway Hall. Sixth Annual Conference of Fellowship Party. 5 to 5.45 p.m. Tea and Bring and Buy Sale.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall. "Any Questions on Peace, Politics and Current Affairs?" Brains Trust: Donald Swann, John Loverseed, AFC, Ronald Malone, BA, Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, MA Question Master: Bob Walsh. Fellowship Party.

Tuesday, April 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Ali PPU members welcome to AGM. London Area PPU.

Thursday, April 27

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone. "Group Discussion." E.11 and E.11 PPU.

Friday, April 28—Sunday, April 30

RUGELEY, Staffs.: Spode House, Nr. Rugeley. "Defence, Security and Disarmament" conference. Speakers: Wayland Young, Leonard Beaton, Michael Ionides, Dr. James Henderson. Inclusive cost Friday supper to Sunday tea: 50s. Details: N.P.C., 29 St. James St., W.C.1 (CHA 3228, or U.N.A., 25 Charles St., W.1 (GRO 2784).

Saturday, April 29

LONDON, S.W.1: 3.15-6 p.m. Parliament Square. "Public Assembly." Assemble Trafalgar Square, 2 p.m. March to Parliament Square, 3 p.m. Committee of 100.

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THURSDAYS

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CATHOLICS DEBATE

Bomb morality: Frankau v Falconer

PAMELA FRANKAU and columnist "Falconer" have been debating the issue of nuclear disarmament over a period of three weeks in the *Catholic Times*.

Much of the argument resolved itself into disagreements on Catholic morality. Referring to the theory of deterrence, Miss Frankau wrote: "Since this cannot be a defence policy, it can only be a threat policy, based on fear. Is that moral? Falconer says 'Yes.' I say 'No.' Whereas Falconer regards a deterring weapon as 'a perfectly moral instrument. Why, therefore, should we feel ashamed of it?'"

Throughout the debate Falconer makes two large assumptions which he thinks unquestionable. First, that H-bombs are now available sufficiently "clean" to be used with precision on military targets, and therefore usable in a "just" war. And the second, that Soviet Communism is an active and material enemy.

"On the theory of tactical weapons and 'clean' bombs," retorts Miss Frankau, "I find Falconer completely misleading. There is no control of fall-out. The effect of many small radio-active devices can only add up to the effect of one big one." And of the second assumption she writes: "A possible enemy's possible cerebration seems to me wildly irrelevant to the moral issue."

She quotes Cardinal Ottaviani: "Modern war is no longer permissible, since it has

ceased to be an instrument of justice." To this Falconer responds with a statement of Pius XII on which an American theologian commented: "One cannot therefore uphold the stimple statement that atomic war, as such, without further qualifications, is morally unjustifiable."

Falconer cannot see why it should be immoral that the world should be kept from the fact of war by the fear of war. But Miss Frankau calls this a "temporary deadlock, precariously preserved in favour of freedom by nuclear armament. I see nuclear armament itself as the deadlock; the crippling of all true freedom, the ever more threatening enemy of God's world."

CURIOUS PICTURE

Falconer also holds that unilateral campaigning only succeeds in slowing down the possible pace of multilateral disarmament, and that Catholics who march from Aldermaston are inviting, not deterring, Soviet aggression. To which Miss Frankau replies that when her time comes she must go to Hell or Heaven unilaterally. "A lot of people wanting the final good multilaterally, but refusing to work for it unilaterally, presents a curious picture of Christian endeavour."

Falconer's climax reads: "I want to prevent the bomb from being dropped or the use of it as a threat to enforce enslavement. That is why I am in favour of the deterrent. The logic of my case is there. It is not met by telling me that nuclear war means mass suicide. I know it. That,

precisely, is why I want to prevent it."

Miss Frankau: "I think automatically in terms of people (not nations, aggressors, political parties, governments). Of the individual Christian and his individual responsibility to the words of Our Lord, to the Gospels, to the Divine Law of Love. Hence my belief in the 'unilateral' power of each soul, by God's Grace, to influence a group, a nation, a world. I see in Christian unilateralism, the world over, the only source of hope."

Commenting on the correspondence from *Catholic Times* readers, Falconer makes it clear that he believes that: "A deterrent policy based on the threat of nuclear annihilation, which is seriously intended at official level, is immoral. One based on a similar threat not seriously intended is not. . . . The moral question centres round more than the intended use of the bomb. It must take into consideration the degree of seriousness at official level attached to the intention to use it indiscriminately."

A long letter from Mrs. Margaret Wysocka, a former member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, claims that the Campaign ("... it began in intellectual circles, and ... the first person to put forward an opinion that nuclear weapons are immoral was not a Christian, had radical left wing sympathies, and was most probably a Communist") is beginning to feel twinges of doubt, becoming less militant and more subdued as the doubts increase.

NOT UPHELD

Miss Frankau holds that Mrs. Wysocka's claim is not upheld by the facts or the figures, and mentions the notable evidence to the contrary manifest on February 18 at the Ministry of Defence sit-down.

The Editor of the *Catholic Times* estimates from the letters received that, by a small margin, most of his readers favour Falconer.

By Sybil Morrison

Belongeth Vengeance

In Britain the murder of a single child rouses the nation to anger. Eichmann killed a million children. Can you feel a million times more angry, a million times more sorrowful?—Daily Herald, April 10.

VAST numbers stun; it is quite impossible to feel a million times more angry with Eichmann than with Straffen; yet, to most people, the cold-bloodedness of the extermination chambers in Hitler's Germany is infinitely more appalling than the sexual maniac's single aberration.

Millions of Jews were murdered with a completely callous disregard for any kind of humanity; with, in fact, a brutal and bestial cynicism that even Nero's gladiators could scarcely have achieved.

If the Jews should now, having secured one of the men who may have been responsible, burn with a need to exact retribution it is completely understandable, but it is, nevertheless, questionable whether revenge can, in this case, cause either satisfaction or relief.

It may be that having made clear to the whole world that this man stands indicted of the most hideous crime, the Jews will show the world also that they have no use for retribution, that they believe in the words of Moses who declared that God had said: "To me belongeth vengeance," and will leave this derelict piece of human depravity to his own conscience and his own hell.

There are many people who believe in capital punishment because they insist that it deters, and even when it is positively proved to them that it does nothing of the kind, still hold to it that the murderer "deserves" to hang. If we all received our deserts doubtless we should not escape severe penalties, but it must be allowed that people may be redeemed, and that no man has the right to judge that this is impossible. Judgment in regard to the crime itself is another matter, and Eichmann may be found guilty of the crime with which he is charged; even so there is nothing that

THE RED BOX



THE red Treasury dispatch box which the Chancellor of the Exchequer traditionally uses on Budget Day will soon have yielded up its secrets. If forecasts are accurate, the Budget is likely to be a "hard" one with few if any, concessions to those

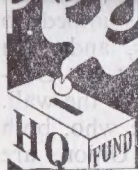
on whom the Peace Pledge Union mainly relies for financial help. Not perhaps a very appropriate moment to send out our annual appeal or to ask for a contribution to PPU Headquarters Fund.

But if I cannot suggest that you share with the PPU your tax reductions, I can at least remind you that it is also not an easy time for profit exchequers. When every-

TO demonstrate that the majority of Australians no longer desire an immigration policy which in practice excludes people on the basis of their colour; to increase awareness that the immigration policy is morally wrong; and to secure an Australian immigration policy not based on racial dis-

judice, assimilation, and mutual benefit from immigration. Most important, the Association will sponsor individual non-Europeans wishing to migrate to Australia. "This," writes Barrie Pittock, "will involve a direct challenge to the Government to justify the exclusion of individuals; forcing it, in the ideal test case, to admit to a racial basis or else to capitulate."

Australian policy questioned



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But if I cannot suggest that you share with the PPU your tax reductions, I can at least remind you that it is also not an easy time for pacifist exchequers. When everything else goes up, unless our income also rises, we have no alternative to curtailing our work or budgeting for a substantial deficit. I do not believe that any reader of Peace News would wish us to curtail our work. Indeed, the criticism usually is that we are not active enough. Apart from our normal work, we have to give considerable help to the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign.

Our budget day is April 29, when the estimates of expenditure for 1961-62 will be presented to the Annual General Meeting in Birmingham. Our "Chancellor" might be glad if he could work out the proportionate amount due from each signatory—and collect it! As it is, we leave it with confidence with you to show that the preparation for peace means at least as much to you, and costs you at least as much, as the preparation for war.

So, please, a generous response to the annual appeal and to this appeal for the PPU Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS

General Secretary.

Total for the year: £1,750.

Amount received to date: £168.

An increase of £33.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send your pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6 Endsleigh Street

London, W.C.1

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Australian policy questioned

TO demonstrate that the majority of Australians no longer desire an immigration policy which in practice excludes people on the basis of their colour; to increase awareness that the immigration policy is morally wrong; and to secure an Australian immigration policy not based on racial discrimination: these are the declared aims of the Victorian Association for Immigration Reform.

This Association began as a study group of graduates and staff of the University of Melbourne, and was instituted into a reform group last October. According to recent public opinion polls, more than 50 per cent of Australians favour some modification of the White Australian policy. The problem is to mobilise that opinion into a force to be reckoned with by the politicians.

Prejudice

Barrie Pittock, a VAIR committee member, writes: "The most vigorous and pre-judiced support for White Australia comes from the Returned Servicemen's League and the so-called 'Australian Natives Association.' This latter is a nationalistic organisation, which excludes migrants, and is enamoured with 'the Australian Way of Life.' Due to the peculiar history of the White Australia Policy, which originated in the struggle for better working conditions in the face of a much exaggerated threat from the Chinese on the gold fields a century ago, the Trade Unions and the Australian Labour Party are also in favour of the present policy.

"The VAIR's first task is to challenge and debate with these bodies, and it has successfully been doing so on TV and in the press. Members take some measure of their success from the painting of a swastika on the wall of the vicarage of Rev. J. P. Stevenson, representative on VAIR of the Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne."

The VAIR will work for a change of opinion within these unsympathetic organisations, promote the study of Asian culture, and conduct research into questions of pre-

judice, assimilation, and mutual benefit from immigration. Most important, the Association will sponsor individual non-Europeans wishing to migrate to Australia. "This," writes Barrie Pittock, "will involve a direct challenge to the Government to justify the exclusion of individuals; forcing it, in the ideal test case, to admit to a racial basis or else to capitulate."

TO JERUSALEM BY AMBULANCE

AN ambulance which set out from Glasgow on April 5 is today due to call at Bromley Town Hall and Eltham College in the course of its long drive to Jerusalem.

The ambulance, bought by War on Want, will be used by the Orthodox Invalids' and Maternity Home in Jerusalem. Already it has called at 31 towns and cities between Glasgow and London, where simple ceremonial greetings and bread and soup meals have been arranged to strengthen awareness of world poverty, and raise funds for the campaign being waged against it by War on Want.

Tomorrow the ambulance will drive by way of Stepney to St. Martin's in the Fields, Trafalgar Square, and thence to Muswell Hill. After touring the London environs on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, it will set off for southern cities on Wednesday, reaching Dover on April 22.

Crossing to Calais, April 23, the journey continues across France to Marseilles, by sea to Tunis, and by the North African coast roads to Port Said. Then by sea to Beirut. From Beirut by road, through Damascus and Amman, to Jerusalem, where Mrs. Frida Laski will present the ambulance to the Orthodox Invalids' and Maternity Home on May 20.

Calls will be made at the hospitals in North Africa to note and list their needs in supplies and equipment. War on Want will then try to collect funds in Britain for these needs.

will leave this derelict piece of human depravity to his own conscience and his own hell.

There are many people who believe in capital punishment because they insist that it deters, and even when it is positively proved to them that it does nothing of the kind, still hold to it that the murderer "deserves" to hang. If we all received our deserts doubtless we should not escape severe penalties, but it must be allowed that people may be redeemed, and that no man has the right to judge that this is impossible. Judgment in regard to the crime itself is another matter, and Eichmann may be found guilty of the crime with which he is charged; even so, there is nothing that can be done to him worse than is done to any child murderer, which is that he should be hanged by the neck until he is dead.

He cannot, in fact, die a million times; each single one of those who have died, either in extermination camps, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in Cologne and Coventry, Berlin and Birmingham, Lidice and London, died alone, as Eichmann when he dies will die alone. Death is the ultimate aloneness.

★

It is hard to imagine redemption for this strange, faceless, impersonal instrument of wholesale death, but the uselessness of exacting the death penalty has, perhaps, never been so obvious. If another Hitler should arise, if another totalitarian regime should decide on total extermination, who will be deterred by recollection of this one man's death? If a major war should once more assail the world who will be deterred by the remembrance of Nuremberg?

It is not only Christians who know that the progress towards an entirely different way of living was made apparent when Jesus said that the ancient doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was to be discarded, and that to "love your neighbour and hate your enemy" was no longer to be laid down as a guide to behaviour. On the contrary, to "love your enemy" was the great change over to an entirely new way of life.

No one can possibly find it easy to "love" a murderer, and yet there is no man, not even Eichmann, who has not had some person, mother, father, lover or friend who loved him. Incredible though it often seems, love can transcend the dismay, and horror of even the most dreadful of crimes.

If Israel should now, with courage and dignity, refuse to take revenge, British people may, at last, realise their own responsibility for official killing, and demand the abolition of the death penalty in this country. We have lagged behind, but it is not too late.

The meaning of unilateralism

EARL RUSSELL has been writing to the press again about disarmament. There can be few men of such eminence who voluntarily devote so much of their time to so unrewarding a task. Most men of distinction seem to prefer to spend their retirement chasing lost canaries up and down the French Riviera.

In letters to *The Observer* last Sunday and *The Guardian* on Tuesday, Bertrand Russell was at pains to clear up certain misunderstandings about unilateralists. "We urge British unilateralism," he wrote to Manchester, "but we do not urge American unilateral disarmament."

To *The Observer* he made much the same sort of explanation, adding that "the best hope for success" at disarmament conferences "would be a proposal drawn up by neutrals making no change in the balance of power."

A similar approach was put forward last November 17 in a letter to *The Times* from Canon Collins as Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: "No suggestion that America should renounce nuclear weapons while Russia retains hers is to be found in the literature of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." To give this added weight, a further 14 of the Campaign's top brass—all, incidentally, Labour Party people—added their signatures to that letter.

Now this may be a widespread view among the leadership of CND, but

it is not necessarily true of the rank and file—and it certainly contradicts the rest of the Campaign's policy.

The two most attractive arguments for supporting CND are the moral repugnance of nuclear strategy, and the hope that such a mass movement will introduce a new type of politics in contrast to Bomb diplomacy. The old balance of power knocks both these arguments on the head.

In particular it destroys the moral case which, without doubt, is overwhelmingly the one which gets people out on the Aldermaston road and even into jail. Its essence is quite simple: these weapons are barbaric, degrading and evil, and men of goodwill ought to have nothing to do with them.

But these Campaign leaders are saying that they do not want unilateral disarmament in the United States, that people (of goodwill) there should not wash their hands of nuclear strategy but, on the contrary, should strive to maintain the balance of power. Such a distinction between Britain and the United States clearly denies that there is any universal moral case against nuclear weapons.

Most of the marchers, in short, have got it all wrong. They have not, after all, been campaigning for new values but for an expedient political rearrangement which seeks to maintain the balance of power while Britain gets out of the arms race.

Is it any wonder that the Communist Party is moving in on such a cam-

paign? A maintenance of ultimate commitment to power politics in a peace movement is an open invitation to Moscow's men—and who after Easter 1961 can deny that they are accepting it? They will give us more trouble yet.

There is, however, a serious policy for unilateralists—and something very like it has been adopted by the marchers from San Francisco to Moscow. It appears on the back page of *Peace News* this week and deserves our support. But it would be useful to hear further from those who disagree. The balance-of-power men should be encouraged to tell us more.

SOUTH AFRICA ON THE BRINK

WITH South Africa out of the Commonwealth the British Government has at last seen fit to begin to alter its policy and voting at the United Nations. This is surely the final answer to those, centred around the Government and *The Times*, who had romantic ideas about Britain's moral influence over a South Africa inside the Commonwealth.

Quite what inspired these ideas is not clear; it may have been Mr. Macmillan's inflated conception of what effect his "Wind of Change" speech had on Dr. Verwoerd, or it may have been the notion that Britain still, in a sense, controlled the club.

NEW

POLITICS

by

Christopher

Farley

In fact, as long as South Africa was inside, it was Dr. Verwoerd who had the moral influence on Britain. The Macmillan Government was incapable of making outright criticism, had to practise appeasement towards apartheid for military reasons—as we discussed in an earlier article on this page—and had to go through the shameful process of abstaining on issues of principle at UN.

It is interesting to reflect, incidentally, that most people still assume that a Britain inside NATO would have more influence than outside. In fact here, as in the Commonwealth issue, it seems clear that the principle of the lowest common denominator operates, along with a tacit understanding that friends are not publicly embarrassed. This means there is no freedom of expression.

It seems clear that South Africa is now on the brink of its greatest disaster. Shares have slumped to below Sharpeville levels, and even Dr. Verwoerd admits that his Government has got its back to the wall. In this situation it is those who, both inside and outside the Union, are organising resistance to apartheid who are playing the most important rôle. It is not enough to pass resolutions, however much global authority they may command.

Shortly before Dr. Verwoerd came to London, Ronald Segal, the editor of *Africa South in Exile*, wrote in the *Spectator*:

Franco in NATO?

"LET us press for Spain—an Atlantic nation on whose strategic support the NATO nations count—to be invited forthwith to join NATO."

This was said in Madrid by the American Ambassador (Mr. John Davis Lodge) at a farewell luncheon given by the American Club on April 4.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

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Peace Corps Council

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Later, an Embassy spokesman said that this declaration reflected the views of Mr. Kennedy's Administration. Mr. Lodge in his speech mentioned that the US Government had provided about £357,000,000 of economic assistance, in various forms, to Spain.

All Communists

THE John Birch Society, an extreme Right-wing movement founded in December, 1958, by a retired Massachusetts candy manufacturer called Robert Welch, has recently achieved prominence by accusing Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower (in company with John Foster and Allen Dulles and other American notables) of being Communists or Communist dupes.

The Society, dictatorially ruled by its founder, and conducted along secret society lines, claims that it will have 100,000 members by the end of this year. It was named after an American army captain and missionary killed in China shortly after VJ day.

As long as it confined its attacks to the churches, and groups like the American Friends Service Committee, nobody took much notice. But these indictments of the famous have won the headlines. Even the conservative Republican papers have taken umbrage, but when the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee was asked to comment, Senator James O. Eastland, its chairman, signed the following letter: “The John Birch Society about which you asked is known to be a conservative anti-Communist organisation. However, the sub-committee cannot endorse any organisation officially. We are happy to state that it

rearrangement which seeks to maintain the balance of power, while Britain gets out of the arms race. Is it any wonder that the Communist Party is moving in on such a cam-

panion's innate conception of what effect his “Wind of Change” speech had on Dr. Verwoerd, or it may have been the notion that Britain still, in a sense, controlled the club.

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Peace Corps Council

VICE-PRESIDENT JOHNSON is to be chairman of a National Advisory Council for President Kennedy's Peace Corps. William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, will be honorary chairman. This was announced on March 30.

The *New York Times* reports that there are to be 33 advisors on the Council. The four vice-chairmen will be Dr. Mary Bunting of Boston (president of Radcliffe College), David E. Lilienthal (former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and of the Atomic Energy Commission), Rev. James Robinson (director of the inter-racial Morningside Community Centre), and Thomas J. Watson (president of the International Business Machines Corporation).

Among the Council members are Harry Belafonte, Clarence Pickett, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), Eugene V. Rostow, dean of the Yale Law School, and Rev. John J. Conisidine, director of the Latin-American Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

A Polish objection

JAN OZGA, a Polish ex-soldier of Nottingham, went to prison on April 7 for 14 days rather than pay his rates. His objection is to the use of public money towards the Nottingham Technical College which “trains scientists to make rockets.”

Ozga, who has paid his rates money to charity, offered to pay if the part allotted to the Technical College were given to another department, but this was not acceptable.

CND's scientists

THE Scientists' Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has now

completed its first working year, and in the current issue of the bulletin *CND Scientists* is a review of the second report of the committee appointed by the Medical Research Council on “The Hazards to Man of Nuclear and Allied Radiations.”

The Scientists' Group has also been able to help CND with articles of a specialist kind for the general bulletin, and with technical advice, for example, in representations about Civil Defence. Members of the Group are constantly in demand for addressing meetings and giving technical advice locally.

The bulletin is obtainable from the Secretary of the Scientists' Group, 2 Carthusian Street, London, E.C.1.

★
The synod of the largest Dutch Reformed Church in Transvaal, sitting in Pretoria April 8, rejected any modification of the apartheid policy. Members were asked to uphold and promote the Christian spirit towards non-Whites on the basis of the “historic policy of differentiation.”

★
“Hunger in the Congo” is a 14-minute film made by Independent Television News, which shows Congo relief operations in progress. This may be borrowed on request to Oxfam, 17 Broad Street, Oxford.

Working against all violence

THIS special issue of Peace News, with well-known penal reformer Frank Dawtry contributing an important front-page feature, will be on sale at the great Albert Hall “Abolition of Capital Punishment” Rally next Tuesday.

We urge that Greater London readers bring all their friends to this demonstration. In particular we ask every available reader to report, from 6.30 on, at the front portico

now on the brink of its greatest disaster. Shares have slumped to below Sharpeville levels, and even Dr. Verwoerd admits that his Government has got its back to the wall. In this situation it is those who, both inside and outside the Union, are organising resistance to apartheid who are playing the most important rôle. It is not enough to pass resolutions, however much global authority they may command.

Shortly before Dr. Verwoerd came to London, Ronald Segal, the editor of *Africa South in Exile*, wrote in the *Spectator*:

“Those who believe that he (Verwoerd) is vulnerable to reason are ignorant of his record and of his character. Like the Hitler he so admired during the last war, his policy is a manifestation of his character. Like Hitler he will not concede; he can only be defeated.”

I wonder if everyone realises what this means if we are to avoid a blood-bath in South Africa. Last week on this page Alan Lovell was encouraging us all to spell out what non-violent resistance means in just such a situation. We could hardly start at a better place than this.

FOR THE WEAK

THE quote of the week comes from Dr. Ramsey, the next Archbishop of Canterbury. Asked by the *Daily Herald* his attitude to the H-bomb, His Grace started off: “I agree with Mr. Gaitskell's reasoning about this. . . . The use of force and killing is justifiable in defence of the weak.”

of the Hall to assist with the sales of Peace News. But don't just go to listen—go to act. And act first by selling the paper that unites all who are opposed to violence and inhumanity no matter what form it takes.

If you cannot attend the meeting, support the Campaign for Abolition by distributing extra copies of this issue.

H. F. M.

EASTER 1961 ABROAD

We must march and raise our voice that mankind awakes from its thoughtlessness in which it goes on living, and realises the danger in which it finds itself before it will be too late. A thousand thanks to those who march.—Albert Schweitzer.



In the Bavarian town of Miltenberg demonstrators listened to speakers like Stephan Andres the writer and other similar speakers. The march began in a nearby rocket base and went to Frankfurt, a distance of 54 miles. County policemen disobeyed the orders of the Federal Government of Bavaria and did not carry pistols or truncheons.

The final rally of one of the several marches which took place in Germany over the Easter week-end.

‘A thousand thanks
to those who march’

—says ALBERT
SCHWEITZER

The British press has scarcely mentioned the

ALL over the United States of America some 25,000 people walked for peace on Easter Saturday. The weather was consistently bad from Seattle to New York, but Americans walked, sang, prayed and generally demonstrated their opposition to the arms race. These Easter demonstrations were the first large scale American demonstrations against nuclear weapons and policies since World War II.

3,500 attended a rally at the United Nations Plaza. Over 3,000 were





present at a rally in San Francisco which ended a 50-mile march. 2,000 people took part in a four-mile walk in **Los Angeles** which followed vigils at the Atomic Energy Commission and the Rand Corporation. In **Seattle** a demonstration began with a two hour vigil and included a six mile walk finishing with a rally.

In **Chicago** there was a three-day, 40-mile walk from Great Lakes Naval Training Station and a half-day walk from the perimeter of a hypothetical area of H-bomb devastation to the

Loop. More than 1,500 walked and 2,500 attended the rally.

In countless American cities and towns there were smaller demonstrations representing the first steps there in public concern and protest, all immensely significant, such as those held in **Madison** (Wisconsin), **Milwaukee**, **Washington**, **Hartford** (Connecticut), **Boston** and **Cleveland**.

In **Canada** marches were held in seven cities: **Montreal**, **Toronto**, **Regina**, **Vancouver**, **Saskatoon**, **Winnipeg** and **Quebec**. 700 marchers in Montreal plodded on through a sudden blizzard of snow and slush. In Toronto about 1,000 marched.

Across the world in **New Zealand**, a 45-mile march from **Featherston** to **Wellington** began with 40 people on Good Friday and ended with 400 on Easter Monday. "Easter is a festival of life in the face of death," said the Vicar of **Berhampore** at the rally. "We are here to do our part to help people throughout the world to have abundant life, and not death."

Correspondents tell us that the Easter marches in **Germany** were accompanied throughout by rain, the police, and the secret service.

Heinz Kraschutski writes:

"I had the pleasure of joining

● ON PAGE SIX

to those who march

—says **ALBERT SCHWEITZER**

The British press has scarcely mentioned the Aldermaston-style rallies and marches that were held in many countries around the world at Easter.

The pictures and reports on this page and the next give some indication of the rising tide of protest abroad.



The Combined Universities Campaign in Canada held marches which were remarkably similar to the first Aldermaston March (1958) held in Britain. Opinion in Canada is more sympathetic and the Campaign there is growing at a remarkable rate.

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EASTER MARCHES ABROAD

● FROM PAGE FIVE

four of the marches. The first I met was a group of 400 marching from **Bergen-Hohne** (a death centre of tomorrow), quite close to Belsen (a death centre of yesterday), to **Hamburg**. A second column was marching to **Hannover**, where we spoke to a rally in the market place.

"Then I left to join another column which had left Bergen-Hohne, heading for **Brunswick**, where at the rally we were soaked to the skin by pouring rain. The rally in the market place of **Dortmund** brought together some 4,000 people.

"An army of secret police surrounded all meetings, photographing and making notes. Fortunately the leading slogans of the Oestermarsch were maintained throughout, and those marchers who might have preferred Khrushchev to Adenauer-Kennedy-Macmillan remained disciplined all through the marches."

Hildegard Dobsclaff, who was on the march from **Wuppertal** to **Dortmund**, writes:

"Each poster had to pass police examination and several were disallowed (although the English

"For Christ's Sake Disarm" passed the test). In the event the weather was on the side of the police, and both rain and wind worked havoc with the posters. But on Easter Monday we had sunshine.

"In **Bochum** people in the streets listened to our guitars and drums and others opened their windows. We had the opportunity to hand out leaflets and talk to some of the people. In **Essen** we were not allowed to unroll the black flag. The secret service (K 14 we call them) were with us all the time, writing down all that we said."

Commenting on the Easter demonstrations the *New York Post* was moved to write the following editorial: "Call them (the marchers) impractical, unworldly, even irrelevant, they nevertheless represent a manifestation of what used to be called the Christian conscience. . . We wince when we hear them described as eccentrics and fools by those who talk glibly of 'atomic supremacy' and who tell us reassuringly that life will be rugged but quite bearable for the inhabitants of an atomic wasteland. If we are to apply sanity tests to politics, the Easter marchers may be in far better shape than many of the characters who demean them."

REPRINTS OF THE 1961 STORY

PEACE NEWS is reprinting its pictures and reports of the marches in this week's and last week's issues as a special broadsheet, along with Albert Schweitzer's message.

Pass on copies to all who think that the British march alone. Supplies will be available next week, price 2s. 6d. dozen and 15s. 100 post free. Single copies price 4d (postage 2d.).



Marchers on their way from Hanover to Brunswick. Four marches started from this point and in the lower picture leading one of the marches is shown Konrad Tempel who was principal organiser for all of the marches which were held in Germany over the Easter week-end.

An independent Peace News?

A PROPOSAL being placed before the Peace Pledge Union's Annual General Meeting by its National Council, with the support of Peace News Board, will, if adopted, establish *Peace News* as an independent weekly newspaper free of ties with any organisation.

The motion containing the proposal reads:

"That this AGM of the PPU agrees that in view of the developing situation *Peace News* should no longer be tied to the Peace Pledge Union, which has its own particular basis of membership and policy, but become an independent journal of pacifist opinion able to explore

conscientious refusal of taxes, for support for the Fellowship Party, and for the Commonwealth of World Citizens.

Another motion calls on members to concentrate their efforts on persuading the public "of the reality and the possibility of a war-less world."

"Each poster had to pass police examination and several were disallowed (although the English

land. If we are to apply sanity tests to politics, the Easter marchers may be in far better shape than many of the characters who demean them."

REPRINTS OF THE 1961 STORY

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Pass on copies to all who think that the British march alone. Supplies will be available next week, price 2s. 6d. dozen and 15s. 100 post free. Single copies price 4d. (postage 2d.).



Another reminder of the first Aldermaston March . . . this time from Germany. Many miles had to be marched through silent woods and soaking pathways.

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The AGM opens on April 29 at 2 p.m. in the Imperial Hotel, Temple Street, Birmingham, and closes at 4.30 p.m. the next day, following discussion opened by Arlo Tatum, Secretary of the War Resisters' International, on the International Peace Brigade.

Policy notions on the agenda include one from Laurens Otter and Will Warren urging an addition to the Peace Pledge which would bind members to oppose the making, testing, trading in and storing of armaments and to work for a non-violent social order.

Other motions call for the provision of

conscientious refusal of taxes, for support for the Fellowship Party, and for the Commonwealth of World Citizens.

Another motion calls on members to concentrate their efforts on persuading the public "of the reality and the possibility of a war-less world."

There will be a mass selling of *Peace News* and leaflet distribution in Birmingham during the Saturday morning. Supplies of the paper and leaflets will be available from the Imperial Hotel from 10 a.m.

SCOTLAND'S PRESS

□ FROM PAGE ONE

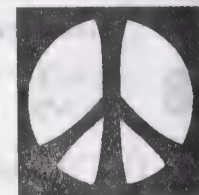
Mirror Group paper) remains stubbornly Gaitskellite.

What is significant is that editorial policy is no longer sustained by the news stories. The Communists and beatniks are overshadowed by ordinary anxious Scots men and women, trades unionists and Labour Party members, forced to march for lack of a firm political lead.

It will be interesting to see what the Scottish papers have to say when the London to Holy Loch march crosses the Border on May 7.

COMMITTEE OF 100

29 APRIL 1961



PARLIAMENT SQUARE
ASSEMBLY

2 p.m. Trafalgar Sq.
3-6 p.m. Parliament Sq.

Contact the Committee at : 11 Goodwin St., N.4.

Parliament Square

ON Saturday, April 29, the Committee of 100 and its supporters will occupy Parliament Square to hold a Public Assembly from 3 to 6 p.m. We are appealing for support for this mass non-violent demonstration, which is the follow-up to the sit-down outside the Ministry of Defence on February 18.

The Assembly will demand unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, the withdrawal of Polaris and other nuclear bases from Britain, and the use of money and resources, now squandered on nuclear weapons, for constructive purposes.

The Assembly will be preceded by a meeting in Trafalgar Square commencing at 2 p.m. and there will again be a supporting march. Volunteers and help of various kinds are needed. Will those interested please contact me at the Committee of 100 office—**MICHAEL RANDLE, Secretary, 13, Goodwin Street, London, N.4.**

Grosvenor Sq. sit-down

TOWARDS the end of the inspiring rally in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday marchers could be seen leaving the Square almost as quickly as others were entering it. Many still sought a focal point to the four-day trek and later found expression in continuing the march with the Direct Action Committee to its logical conclusion at the Holy Loch. Others went to Grosvenor Square and sat in protest against the Government that had sent Polaris to this country.

All over the world that day, throughout all the demonstrations, the semaphore symbol of humanity against the Bomb was carried, by persons of all political parties, all religions and all nations. It ill becomes those who are convinced that the solution to the Bomb lies narrowly only in one political party, to allow the facts of the Grosvenor Square sit-down to be misrepresented and then criticise people who were not, after all, acting officially for any organisation. I am appealing to those who indulge in such criticism to show more toleration.

For those who work in the press world to complain "we was robbed" because Grosvenor Square hit the headlines is rather naïve. Who would they have blamed if an H-bomb had dropped whilst we were marching? — **AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, Chairman, Southern Regional Council for Nuclear Disarmament, 4 Earls Court, Amesbury, Wilts.**

THE "bad press" generally given by the daily papers to the Easter Monday sit-

Letters to the Editor

ing campaigners the opportunity to assemble in Trafalgar Square alongside the National Gallery at 6 p.m. on Monday to see if sufficient support was forthcoming for a mass sit-down in Grosvenor Square.

The CND rally was almost dispersed by 4.45 p.m., but at 6 a fair number of people were in a cluster at the edge of the Square, and there were many bystanders. The column proceeded quietly and quickly to the east side of Grosvenor Square, where after a few seconds' hesitation the marchers sat down.

The area of the sit-down had been cordoned off by a large number of police, but there was no clash. A few individuals for some reason attempted to sit in the middle of the road, but police immediately carried them to the pavement.

At this stage the police arrested Ralph Schoenman and Lawrence Hislam. As the hour of the sit-down passed peacefully on there was a strong feeling that they should be supported, and the suggestion was adopted that after the sit-down those who wished should go to Savile Row and report that they had committed the same act as those who had been arrested. It was agreed that this action would be by individuals reporting to the police station.

The sit-down then ended in an orderly way, the police melted away, and perhaps a couple of hundred people started moving to Savile Row.

Unfortunately we had not foreseen that a comparatively large number of people converging on the police station, notwithstanding their peaceful demeanour, would cause the authorities some alarm, and the police reacted in a sudden and violent way that upset the majority of demonstrators who lacked experience of this kind of situation or the careful briefing that might have been a substitute.

Apparently the first few to arrive were stopped from entering the station and sat

down, many of them being arrested and carried limp into the building without undue incident. A cordon of police then attempted to clear the street, and it was at this point that there was a real breakdown of order. I had now arrived and saw people being kept moving along the street by being carried when they were limp, being jostled, pushed, thumped and kicked when they moved slowly, and receiving much abuse from the police. This provoked some retaliatory struggling by the demonstrators, though I saw no blows being returned, and much shouting and answering back went on.

It was noticeable that some of the police behaved decently and used the minimum amount of force to keep people moving. Some were even responding to reasonable conversation about the situation. On the other hand, many of them were obviously in a state of sadistic excitement and were being unnecessarily violent. I spoke to the more moderate policemen to ask them to restrain their colleagues, but without much success.

I made an abortive attempt to return to the station, waited a little longer for the tension to be relaxed, and approached again. I explained that I had committed the same offence in Grosvenor Square as the first two men arrested, but as the constable had not witnessed this he said he could not arrest me. He then asked me to leave the building and I sat at his feet. I was then politely taken inside and charged with obstructing a policeman in the execution of his duty.

A tiny minority of demonstrators had been unable to control themselves completely under the provocation offered by the police, and had struggled instead of going limp, one youth slightly injuring a constable in the process. This was understandable but most regrettable, and of course attracted most of the attention of the press.—**BRIAN RICHARDSON, Greenways, Knockholt, Sevenoaks, Kent.**

Congratulations, marchers!

DURING the last few days many people have been kind enough to send me messages of congratulation upon the marshalling arrangements for the Aldermaston and Wethersfield marches.

I feel, however, that the credit for any success in this connection rests principally with the 34,000 marchers whose wonderful patience and co-operation under appalling weather conditions made the task of the marshals so much easier than it would otherwise have been, and I shall be grateful if you will very kindly allow me, through your columns, to express our appreciation.

May I add my personal thanks to Ted Hilley and Andrew Murray, who were in control of the Wethersfield and Aldermaston marches respectively; to their deputy marshals and all unit and route marshals who coped so magnificently with the problem of moving thousands of people during the four days. In particular may I thank David Fabri, of Lancaster, who throughout the march sat alone in a basement office maintaining telephone communications between the two marches. And I am certain all marshals would wish to thank those who fed us, found us floors to sleep on, moved our baggage, gave medical aid, provided our music, and looked after our Elsans and litter!—**MICHAEL L. HOWARD, chief marshal, CND, Aldermaston and Wethersfield marches, 11 Warwick Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W.5.**

A holiday for them?

MANY of your readers know of the work which Family Service Units is doing to help families where the parents have been overwhelmed by domestic and personal problems and care of home and children has deteriorated. May I ask if any reader would like to invite a child from one of these families for a holiday?

We have Units in eleven industrial cities, and each summer we arrange for some of the children to spend a short holiday away from home. What they need above all is a warm welcome from someone with an understanding of children, and in recent years many children have spent very happy holidays in private homes, and so gained a valuable new experience as well as greater fitness to meet the winter.

We shall be grateful for new offers of hospitality this year. We select the children and see that they are free from illness and have a minimum of clothing. We may not be able to accept offers too far from our

FRANK DAWTRY ON HANGING

● FROM PAGE ONE

periodical suspension by prison officials of their task of rehabilitating offenders while they set about destroying one, and the emotional excitement often leading to un-

this; and the abolitionists must decide whether the time has come for another big push to get rid finally of a penalty which is ineffective and therefore unnecessary, quite illogical in its operation, a hindrance to the work of reform and rehabilitation.

represented and then criticised people who were not, after all, acting officially for any organisation. I am appealing to those who indulge in such criticism to show more toleration.

For those who work in the press world to complain "we was robbed" because Grosvenor Square hit the headlines is rather naïve. Who would they have blamed if an H-bomb had dropped whilst we were marching? — **AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, Chairman, Southern Regional Council for Nuclear Disarmament, 4 Earls Court, Amesbury, Wilts.**

THE "bad press" generally given by the daily papers to the Easter Monday sit-down, which amounted in some cases to such a gross distortion of facts that the whole character of the demonstration was misrepresented, might undermine the support needed for the April 29 public assembly if it is allowed to go uncorrected.

While the Easter marches had been in progress, leaflets had been handed out offer-

ing that the majority of demonstrators who lacked experience of this kind of situation or the careful briefing that might have been a substitute.

Apparently the first few to arrive were stopped from entering the station and sat

FRANK DAWTRY ON HANGING

● FROM PAGE ONE

periodical suspension by prison officials of their task of rehabilitating offenders while they set about destroying one, and the emotional excitement often leading to unhealthy sympathy for the murderer associated with every trial for life. And it works quite illogically. The most brutal and premeditated murder (a very rare thing in any case) which is the only one likely to be prevented by thought of consequences, does not carry the extreme penalty unless the murderer uses the wrong weapon or robs his victim.

The argument used in favour of the death penalty has always been that it will deter potential murderers: in fact, the crime of murder goes on at a fairly regular average rate whether or not the death penalty is in force, and before the Homicide Act about one murderer in every ten was executed. The rest either committed suicide, were insane, were not discovered, or were reprieved. A penalty so haphazard in its application would not ever be very effective. Since the Homicide Act the chance of a murderer suffering execution has probably become one in twenty-five, and the murderer knows in advance (if he ever stops to think) that if he does not steal, and chooses the right weapon and the right victim, he cannot be executed.

Is it really logical to retain a penalty as a deterrent when it can so rarely be used? This, however, is not an argument for extending its use. But if 95 per cent or so of our potential murderers are not now presumed to need the threat of capital punishment to deter them, how is it supposed that the remaining few will be deterred? There has, in fact, been no noticeable increase in the non-capital murders, nor any noticeable decline in the capital ones, and murders as a whole have not increased to anything like the extent of the general increase in violent crime.

So at this stalemate of a half-won battle the believers in capital punishment are seeking to make its use more widespread though they cannot produce any argument to justify

limp, one youth slightly injuring a constable in the process. This was understandable but most regrettable, and of course attracted most of the attention of the press.—**BRIAN RICHARDSON, Greenways, Knockholt, Sevenoaks, Kent.**

this; and the abolitionists must decide whether the time has come for another big push to get rid finally of a penalty which is ineffective and therefore unnecessary, quite illogical in its operation, a hindrance to the work of reform and rehabilitation, totally repugnant to most people, and which is regarded abroad as a strange blot on the name of a country which has pioneered progressive methods of treating crime, such as the probation system and the use of open prisons.

Eire, France and Spain alone in Western Europe share with Britain the doubtful honour of retaining the death penalty. In USA nine states are now abolitionist and in many others there has been no execution for several years, and many other countries, including almost all Central and South America, are abolitionist.

The believers in capital punishment want it more widely used—the Government says it is too soon to consider any change in the law—and if the public is indifferent the law will remain as it is. Only the abolitionists can take a new initiative. This is what Victor Gollancz is now doing—he took up the campaign after the Royal Commission had reported, and is now taking the lead again in an effort to win that unfinished battle. It is a battle which can be won now only if every possible support is rallied for the occasion. It opens at the Albert Hall next Tuesday, April 18. *Will you be there?*

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We shall be grateful for new offers of hospitality this year. We select the children and see that they are free from illness and have a minimum of clothing. We may not be able to accept offers too far from our Units, but I shall be pleased to send further particulars to anyone who can consider helping up.—**DAVID JONES, Secretary, 25 St. Mary's Grove, London, N.1.**

Conventional weapons

PEOPLE who are tempted to look upon the proposed vast increase of "conventional" weapons as a bulwark against the use of nuclear arms should reflect that the atomic bombs were first invented and promptly used not when the Allies were short of other weapons, but when they possessed overwhelming masses of them.

It is a vain hope. When war has once begun both sides are out to win it, by any means, and at any cost, material or moral.—**CLAUD M. COLTMAN, London.**

Aldermaston's impact

UNTIL thousands of people refuse to pay that amount of their income tax which provides armaments the Government will continue to be as much incommoded by Aldermaston marches as is a rhinoceros by a fly on its back.—**R. M. CLARKE, 36, Prospect Rd., Brixham, Devon.**

UNILATERALISTS AND MULTILATERALISTS UNITE

SIGN THE WORLD FRIENDSHIP LETTER An International Referendum

The signatories of the World Friendship Letter call on the government of their own country and on the governments of all other countries to cease spending money on the production of weapons of death and mass indiscriminate slaughter (including atomic and biological warfare).

The signatories pledge themselves to do all in their power to promote World Friendship and urge the governments of the world to spend more money on schemes which would enable their peoples to work wholeheartedly for:

- (1) World Friendship and International Understanding.
- (2) Schemes to help those in need, irrespective of their nationality, politics, religion or personal status.
- (3) The promotion of wider cultural contacts between nations.

If you agree with this referendum then: (1) Write and express your agreement to the Secretary, W.F.L., 30 Square Hill Road, Maidstone, Kent, England. (2) Try to get others to support it in the same way. (3) Distribute copies of it, finance further advertisements elsewhere, translate it into other languages.

If the number of signatories is significant the results will be publicised in some suitable way from time to time.

... an excellent short introduction to the subject.—**THE FRIEND.**

RACE RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

by Vernon Waughray Foreword by Rev. Clifford Hill

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HANDS OFF RUSSIA

The Century of Total War—III

By Hugh Brock

Last week, Hugh Brock described the threat of death and the incredible tortures endured by men who joined a civil disobedience campaign to demonstrate their opposition to war. This week he describes the post-war developments and the formation of a "No more war movement".

THE year 1918 brought a cease fire in the "war to end war," and in 1919 hundreds of the men involved in civil disobedience against the Military Service Act gathered for a final rally of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

Once again they met in Devonshire House, the Quakers' London headquarters, which was the scene of the memorable first convention in 1916.

Describing the meeting in his book, CONSCRIPTION AND CONSCIENCE, John Graham wrote:

"It was like a mighty homecoming. The men were not so exuberant as in the days when the fight was young; they had been sobered by their experience; many were damaged physically, and not quite used to the noise and rush of the outside world; but their determination was unshaken, and they would have gone through the same trial again if the occasion had arisen."

No more war

Though broken in health, Clifford Allen was able to conduct the meeting which was to wind up the NCF and give birth to a No More War Movement. Those present stood in silence while the names of the men who died as a result of the rigours of confinement were read out. They stood also in silence for the adoption of the following resolution:

"Throughout the war we have stood for the brotherhood of man, and in the

name of that ideal have resisted conscription. We now reaffirm our unity of aim with those in all countries who have given their lives that they might serve the cause of freedom, but declare our belief that it is not by bloodshed that freedom can be won or militarism destroyed.

"We acclaim the new hope of human liberty now challenging ancient tyrannies in industry within the State and between the nations, and dedicate the liberty we have regained to such service as shall contribute to the healing of the wounds inflicted by war, and to the building of a world rooted in freedom and enriched by labour that is shared by all.

"It is in this spirit that we go forth to meet new tasks, confident that through its long and bitter suffering mankind must yet come into the way of love."

In the Central Hall 1,500 sat down to a reunion supper. At the centre table were six London Labour Mayors, one of them an ex-army officer, Major C. R. Attlee, and another a conscientious objector, J. J. Vaughan.

At the great public demonstration which brought the Convention to an end, Bertrand Russell said:

"The NCF has been completely victorious in its stand for freedom not to kill or to take part in killing. . . In winning this victory you have won an even greater victory; you have won a victory for the sense of human worth, for the realisation of the value of each

individual soul. It is that, above all, that we must assert and put before the world, that sense that each human soul, each individual growing and living, has within him something sacred, something that must not be warped and destroyed by the imposition of outside forces."

Acute Poverty

The "new tasks" facing the released prisoners were many. There was acute poverty and unemployment (one of the resistance journals, *The New Crusader* had carried a paragraph in May, 1918: "In view of the terrible death rate among children it is urged that 5s. a week be given from the State to every child born in poor circumstances . . .").

There was the need to build a "No More War Movement" both nationally and internationally. There was the need to protect the Russian people from a new war of intervention as well as from famine; the blockade of Germany to be broken. . .

As with opposition to war in 1914, the Quakers had been quick off the mark in opposing a war of intervention against the Russian revolution. On December 5, 1918, their Peace Committee recorded a minute of protest "concerning a war whose entanglements may be immense, and which has been undertaken without any public discussion or support, and with no word of explanation from the Government.

"We fear there is no explanation which can be publicly offered. Our troops are being used in a class war to interfere with self-determination on the continent. This is in direct conflict with the proposed aims of the Allies. More serious still it violates the human brotherhood on which we have based great hopes for the future well-being of man."

New Pacifism

A "Hands off Russia" movement was formed by the Socialists and Trade Unionists, and appeals went out to dockers and others not to handle shipments of arms. Eventually on May 10, 1920, some coal-heavers refused to coal the "Jolly George," and the dockers to load her with munitions. Their action "had an immediate effect upon the whole working class, showing them that direct action against war could be taken

Sowing Time

Twice over Europe's faded face
The tilth of dead was spread,
Twice the seeds of Peace were sown
And twice the dung was red.
Twice the hopeful plants sprang up;
The air was perfumed with delight;
And twice the seedlings ravished
By the denizens of night.
Abandon now this wilderness;
Avoid the tendril; dodge the weed;
Brush off the blight of prejudice;
In England's heart plant one small seed
Of Peace. Tend it well. With love
and truth
Sprinkle its green-ness as it grows.
For all mankind shall reap the harvest
Of the man who meekly sows.

TERRY BELCHER

up with 'Mother'll have ye,' and we stayed on to incite factory workers to refuse to have anything to do with a war against Russia.

"We were well received and the net result of efforts such as this all over the country was that the powers that be saw the impossibility of proceeding further.

"This episode has remained with me as an instance of what can be done if public opinion can be mobilised in one direction."

George Lansbury, who with Runham Brown and Fenner Brockway was laying the foundations for the War Resisters' International, was also in the thick of the struggle for economic justice. In 1920, with some thirty men and women councillors from Poplar, he went to prison for using the rate fund to relieve the poor. The councillors insisted that the relief of the poor should be the responsibility of all the London boroughs, including the wealthy West End areas. They won their point.

With the advent of the first Labour Government the era of direct action appears to have ended, but it left a well-established No More War Movement launching the first campaign for unilateral disarmament.

Socialist Party of Great Britain

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Socialist Party of Great Britain

DEMONSTRATION

FOR

SOCIALISM

Wednesday April 19th at 7.30 p.m.

ST. PANCRAS TOWN HALL

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New Pacifism

A "Hands off Russia" movement was formed by the Socialists and Trade Unionists, and appeals went out to dockers and others not to handle shipments of arms. Eventually on May 10, 1920, some coal-heavers refused to coal the "Jolly George," and the dockers to load her with munitions. Their action "had an immediate effect upon the whole working class, showing them that direct action against war could be taken with success," wrote Ralph Fox.

Under the heading "The New Pacifism" the *Labour Leader* of June 3, 1920, records not only the episode of the "Jolly George" but that of dockers and railwaymen who refused to handle arms and munitions in Ireland.

"Last Monday, at Athenry, five cases of rifles were loaded by soldiers on a train. . . . The railwaymen did not know of it till five minutes before the train was to leave. At once they stopped loading the mails and refused to move the train until the rifles were taken off."

The crew of the Admiralty tug "Resolute" were also reported refusing to unload munitions from the troopship "Czaritza."

Here is what Dorothy Stevens, a former London Quaker social worker, had to say this week when I asked her to recall the atmosphere of this period:

"As far as I remember the whole business started when a Trade Union leader met his nephew in the Strand in uniform. In answer to the question 'Why,' he received the answer that the boy was off to fight against the Russians.

"The TU leader said, 'Like Hell you are,' or words to that effect, and immediately set the wheels in motion for a special TU Conference.

"The Fellowship of Reconciliation (the Christian pacifist organisation founded in 1914) waded in with open-air meetings. Muriel Lester and I went off to hold a meeting in the market place at Colchester. A large crowd gathered and as the night wore on we wondered how we might stay on and address factory workers the next day.

"I suggested we throw ourselves on the mercy of the crowd for a bed. Presently the Industrial Fellowship Chaplain sidled

Brown and Fenner Brockway was laying the foundations for the War Resisters' International, was also in the thick of the struggle for economic justice. In 1920, with some thirty men and women councillors from Poplar, he went to prison for using the rate fund to relieve the poor. The councillors insisted that the relief of the poor should be the responsibility of all the London boroughs, including the wealthy West End areas. They won their point.

With the advent of the first Labour Government the era of direct action appears to have ended, but it left a well-established No More War Movement launching the first campaign for unilateral disarmament. This Movement later merged with the Peace Pledge Union which, launched by Canon Dick Sheppard, and under the Presidency of George Lansbury, drew from 100,000 people a declaration that they would not take part in a future war.

Next week: The growth of non-violent action.

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Eichmann in Israel

Adolf Eichmann was found in hiding last year in South America by secret service agents of the Israeli Government. He was kidnapped and taken to Israel to stand trial for crimes against humanity and the Israeli race. The indictment runs to several pages in length.

Eichmann was a former Colonel in the Storm Troopers and was the man alleged to be responsible for the implementation of the policy to exterminate the Jews.

EICHMANN. Who killed the Jews?

ISRAELI. You did.

EICH. Who, me?

ISR. Who else?

EICH. I thought that Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, and Hitler did it.

ISR. They got away from us.

EICH. I got away from you, too.

ISR. But we got you back.

EICH. Not back. If you'd got me back, you'd have had to get me back to Germany, where I came from. Your Gestapo kidnapped me in Argentina and took me to a foreign country to kill me. You have no right to do that.

ISR. Listen to who's talking about "right."

EICH. You mean that you have the "right" to do wrong because somebody else has done wrong to you? In that case everybody has the "right" to do wrong, including Hitler. What I did I did in Germany. Why don't you turn me over to the Germans?

ISR. The Germans don't want you.

EICH. Nobody wants the Nazis, so they have to be exterminated. In the Third Reich nobody wanted the Jews, so they had to be exterminated. The British wouldn't let them go to Palestine. The Americans wouldn't let them come to America. The British and the Americans exterminated them by turning them away. We only added the finishing touch, so to say. Why don't you kill the British and the Americans?

ISR. It was you who started it.

EICH. Started it? You don't know your own history, you "Israeli." Nobody ever wanted the Jews.

ISR. No, to the anti-Semites.

EICH. You mean that my punishment will persuade people not to be anti-Semitic?

ISR. Yes.

EICH. But the really big shots were punished at Nuremberg in 1946. Did that persuade people not to be anti-Semitic? And what the Allies did to the Germans in 1943 and 1944 and 1945—believe me, that did not persuade the Germans to give up anti-Semitism. If a man hates the Jews, how do you convert him by beating him bloody and burning his house down? Don't you just make him more anti-Semitic?

ISR. If you do, then you have to kill him. That will "convert" him.

EICH. (Aside) That's how we "converted" the Jews. (Aloud) And his friends? Will you kill them, too?

ISR. If we have to.

EICH. And if they outnumber you?

ISR. Then we will die fighting.

EICH. Just like us.

ISR. Just like you.

EICH. But I thought you wanted to save the Jews.

ISR. We do.

EICH. But so did the Jews in America who wanted their country to enter the war. And when the war was over the Jews were dead.

ISR. But the Germans lost the war.

EICH. But the Jews were dead.

ISR. But the Germans had to pay the penalty.

EICH. Of course, just as you will, if you die fighting. But the important thing for you, I should think, was that the Jews were dead.

ISR. You tell us a better way of combating evil.

EICH. Why don't you let me go?

that the soldier's obligation to the moral law transcended his officer's orders.

EICH. That's a laugh, and the Tribunal knew it was a laugh. The whole thing was a laugh: Foreign generals hanging German soldiers for not disobeying superior orders. If one of their own soldiers disobeyed superior orders, they'd hang *him*. No soldier disobeys his superior officer in any country.

ISR. So you were innocent?

EICH. Of course I was.

ISR. And only Hitler was guilty?

EICH. Who says Hitler was guilty? He was the Head of State, but he was chosen by the German people. He had a *mandate* from them to do what he did.

ISR. Then the German people are guilty?

EICH. The American prosecutor at Nuremberg said, "These crimes were not the aberrations of individuals; on the contrary, the entire political and military machinery of the Third Reich had been mobilised to make them possible." So I suppose the German people were guilty. I you could get them all in your power, you could hang them all. But they are now the bulwark of the Free World. The Americans wouldn't let you hang them now; why don't you hang the Americans for not letting you hang the Germans?

ISR. We'll start with you.

EICH. Why me? Why not the local policemen, thousands of them? They would have been shot if they had refused to round up the Jews for the death camps. Why not hang *them* for not wanting to be shot? Why me? *Everybody killed the Jews.*

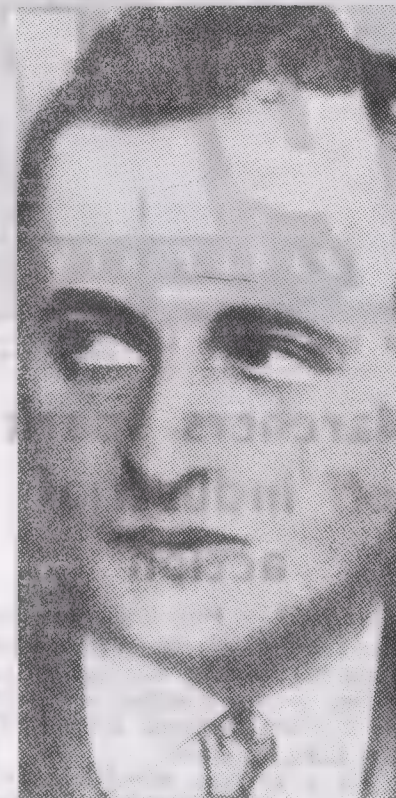
ISR. We can't put everybody on trial.

EICH. You must, you must. *Everybody killed the Jews.*

ISR. Why?

EICH. Everybody wants to kill, and nobody wants the Jews; so why not? That's the way it was with the Indians in America, with the kulaks in Russia, with the Christians in Rome. Everywhere, always. No government would dare declare war if it didn't know that its people want to kill. They don't even mind being killed, as long as they can kill. War lets them. That's why they accept war.

ISR. Don't judge all men by yourself, you Nazi swine.



An undated portrait of Adolf Eichmann. The youthfulness of this picture is in sharp contrast to the old man now facing trial in Jerusalem.

ISR. Because we want the world to know.

EICH. The world knows already, and it doesn't care. It never did care. It heard all about it at Nuremberg and didn't care. It has forgotten the Nazis. It's after the Communists now—and the anti-Communists.

ISR. We will make it remember the Nazis.

EICH. You can't. You can't make people remember. That's their only escape from wanting to kill—to forget. You can kill them trying to make them remember, but even while you are killing them they will say, "I forget."

ISR. They *must* remember the Nazis.

EICH. They *must forget* the Nazis. You Jews, above all. Otherwise you will go on hating, and hatred makes people resemble the thing they hate. You will become Nazis unless you forget the Nazis. Why don't you let me go and forget about me?

ISR. Never.

EICH. They why don't you turn me over

Reich nobody wanted the Jews, so they had to be exterminated. The British wouldn't let them go to Palestine. The Americans wouldn't let them come to America. The British and the Americans exterminated them by turning them away. We only added the finishing touch, so to say. Why don't you kill the British and the Americans?

ISR. It was you who started it.

EICH. Started it? You don't know your own history, you "Israeli." Nobody ever wanted the Jews.



ISR. What you say may be true, but it won't get you off. We have a country of our own now. We know that nobody wanted us, so we came back to our own country.

EICH. To your and the Arab's country. ISR. We were here first.

EICH. Possession is nine-tenths of the law. You say so yourselves. You say that you have me, so you can keep me.

ISR. There is a moral law that is higher than man-made law.

EICH. Who says so?

ISR. Our Prime Minister.

EICH. So did our Fuehrer when we exterminated the Jews.

ISR. You violated the law of humanity.

EICH. Does the law of humanity permit kidnapping a man to kill him?

ISR. We are a sovereign state. We are not answerable to anybody. That's what our Prime Minister says.

EICH. That's what our Fuehrer said.

ISR. We do what is good for the Jews.

EICH. We did what was good for the Germans.

ISR. We have to protect ourselves.

EICH. And you think you can protect yourselves by killing me? Killing you did not protect us, remember.

ISR. But we can do what we want with you. We don't have to kill you. We will do with you whatever is most useful to us.

EICH. And how will my punishment accomplish that purpose?

ISR. By showing the world (as our Prime Minister says) that anti-Semitism is dangerous.

EICH. To whom? To the Jews?

EICH. But so did the Jews in America who wanted their country to enter the war. And when the war was over the Jews were dead.

ISR. But the Germans lost the war.

EICH. But the Jews were dead.

ISR. But the Germans had to pay the penalty.

EICH. Of course, just as you will, if you die fighting. But the important thing for you, I should think, was that the Jews were dead.

ISR. You tell us a better way of combating evil.

EICH. Why don't you let me go?

ISR. Let you go?

EICH. Why not? The world hates the Jew because it has done him harm. It knows that he will return harm for harm if he can. The world says, "We cannot be merciful because the enemy isn't." The national enemy keeps changing, but the Jew is always the enemy everywhere. And self-defence is always the justification against every enemy. We defended ourselves against the Jews, you defend yourselves against the Nazis, the Russians and the Americans defend themselves against each other, and so it always is.

ISR. You want us to let you go?

EICH. If you let me go, you show the world that the Jew has given up the God of vengeance for the God of mercy even if the Christian hasn't. You accept Jesus, and the Christian denies him. But when the world sees that you no longer wish to do harm—even in retribution for harm done you—it will let you alone.

ISR. It never has.

EICH. You have never tried.

ISR. We're not taking any chances.

EICH. But your way you lose for sure. My way you take a chance, yes, but at least you have a chance.

ISR. You're trying to talk your way out of paying the penalty for your crime, that's what you're doing.

EICH. My crime?

ISR. Yours. The "final settlement of the Jewish question" was delegated to you.

EICH. And since when does the delegate have to take responsibility for the principal? I was only a soldier, doing my duty. (Aside) Not that I minded doing it.

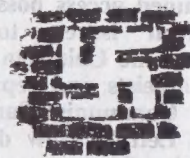
ISR. That's what they all said. That's what Goering said at Nuremberg.

EICH. It's true.

ISR. But the Nuremberg Tribunal rejected the defence of "superior orders." It held

that in Rome, everywhere, always. No government would dare declare war if it didn't know that its people want to kill. They don't even mind being killed, as long as they can kill. War lets them. That's why they accept war.

ISR. Don't judge all men by yourself, you Nazi swine.



EICH. (Aside) We used to say "Jewish swine." (Aloud) I judge them by you. Your Prime Minister says, "I do not believe that there was a single Jew in Israel who was not glad when he heard that Eichmann had been brought here." Why were they glad? Because they smelled blood. They wanted to kill, just like the Christians. Everybody wants to kill.

ISR. Everybody but you.

EICH. Everybody but me. That's why you can believe me. I'm the only man in the world who doesn't want to kill. I'm tired of killing. It bores me to think of it.

ISR. You can make that defence at your trial.

EICH. At my what?

ISR. At your trial.

EICH. That again? You are going to give me a "trial" when "there was not a single Jew in Israel who was not glad when he heard that Eichmann had been brought here"? Are you serious? A trial?

ISR. Our Prime Minister says, "If one cannot get a fair trial here, there are no fair trials in the world."

EICH. But the law of every country forbids a man to judge his own case. This is your case. How can you judge me? You say I killed the Jews, and you represent the Jews. You are the plaintiff, not the judge. If one Israeli was accused of killing another, you wouldn't let the victim's family judge the accused. Why, you couldn't give me a fair trial if you wanted to—and, confidentially, I don't think you want to.

ISR. You will have a fair trial.

EICH. Who says so?

ISR. Our Prime Minister.

EICH. (Aside) Our Fuehrer. (Aloud) At Nuremberg the American prosecutor said that it was costing a hundred thousand dollars a day to conduct the trial, and Goering said, "All that money, just to hang us." Why don't you save your money and just hang me?

EICH. You can't. You can't make people remember. That's their only escape from wanting to kill—to forget. You can kill them trying to make them remember, but even while you are killing them they will say, "I forget."

ISR. They must remember the Nazis.

EICH. They must forget the Nazis. You Jews, above all. Otherwise you will go on hating, and hatred makes people resemble the thing they hate. You will become Nazis unless you forget the Nazis. Why don't you let me go and forget about me?

ISR. Never.

EICH. They why don't you turn me over to the United Nations?

ISR. Never.

EICH. Or to Sweden or India?

ISR. Never.

EICH. Or to Switzerland?

ISR. Never.

EICH. That's what the Allies said when people begged them to turn the Nuremberg defendants over to a neutral country. "Never." They were afraid that the neutrals would find the real enemy—Everybody. They wanted blood. They wanted "victor's justice." You want "victim's justice." What you're afraid of is justice, just like the Gentiles.

ISR. We want Jewish justice.

EICH. Why not human justice? Or are you admitting that we Nazis were right when we said the Jews weren't human?

ISR. We don't agree with Nazis about justice.

EICH. Bring on your "Jewish justice," then.

ISR. If you are found guilty in a fair trial, you will have to pay the penalty.

EICH. You will never collect it unless you hang me four million times. Even then you will have hanged the wrong man.

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Marchers spark off industrial action

THE London to Holy Loch marchers have been drawing audiences of 100 and 200 people at meetings during their first week's marching and been given a warm welcome from CND groups along the route.

"The groups have provided us with lunch, coffee, and beds for the night," Pat Arrowsmith told *Peace News* on Tuesday. "Yet perhaps our most worthwhile stop in the first week was at Daventry. For although there has been no CND group there so far, there may well be one from now on.

"About 30 to 40 people gathered in the Market Square to hear us speak on arrival, many of them teen-agers, who later came round to the hall for further discussion. It now seems likely that they will wish to start a CND group in the town."

The marchers were met at the boundary of Coventry by a delegation including the secretary of the Trades Council, a shop steward of Massey-Fergusson, a Labour Councillor, and Billy Buxton, a delegate from the Electrical Trades Union.

The Lord Mayor of Coventry greeted the marchers on Tuesday from the Town Hall steps. A lunch-time meeting was held in the city with delegations from nine factories.

STOPPAGE

At the chairman's call about 100 workers (including 20 shop stewards) prolonged the lunch hour by half-an-hour as token industrial action.

Big Trafalgar Square send off planned for the



MARCH TO MOSCOW



via Aldermaston, Southampton, Le Havre

IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE ON SUNDAY, JUNE 4, A MASS RALLY ORGANISED BY THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND ADDRESSED BY CANON COLLINS AND OTHERS WILL WELCOME THE AMERICAN-EUROPEAN MARCH TO BRITAIN, NOW HALFWAY ACROSS THE USA ON ITS TREK FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO MOSCOW.

A conference of representatives of the London and Southern Region CND and other groups in the regions which met in Reading on Sunday discussed proposals to meet the marchers and to plan meetings for them as they pass through the South of England along the following route:

Sun., June 4, Trafalgar Square to Hammersmith; June 5, Hammersmith-Staines; June 6, Staines-Bracknell; June 7, Bracknell-Reading; June 8, Reading-Aldermaston; June 9, Aldermaston-Newbury; June 10, Newbury-Basingstoke; June 11, Basingstoke-Winchester; June 12, Winchester-Southampton.

FREE SOCIETY?

DOES one [broadcast] talk by a member of a dissident group constitute a threat to this society? Was it a dangerous talk? Is there no difference between the occasional safety-valve and sustained access by minority groups to the centralised media of communication? Is this sustained access possible, on controversial issues, to Plaid Cymru . . . the Unitarian Church . . . to atheists and republicans . . . the Communist Party . . . the New Left? How does our present situation compare with 100 years ago when the minority

The team is expected to leave Southampton for Le Havre on June 12.

The new route to Aldermaston was decided upon in order to reach new people.

The American marchers are expected to arrive at London Airport on June 1 where they will be met by a representative delegation from the CND, Quakers, Peace Pledge Union, and other organisations.

While in London the American team will hold a picket outside the Ministry of Defence, it being part of the march policy to picket the Ministry in each country through which the march passes.

A Scandinavian Committee which was working on a European March has merged its project with the march from San Francisco to Moscow and will act as a national liaison committee with the committees in New York and London.

To Russia

Inge Oskarsson, of the former European March, will come to London in May to help in the organisation of the American-European March to Moscow, which is expected to pass through England, France, Belgium, West Germany, East Germany, Poland and Russia.

Negotiations with the Russian authorities for the entry of the march into the Soviet Union and with all other Communist states are being carried out by the American committee in co-operation with the US Quaker body, the American Friends Service Committee.

Volunteers for the march should apply to

BASIC POLICY OF THE MARCH

The walkers are equally opposed to armaments in East and West.

They do not believe multilateral negotiations can at this stage achieve disarmament, and therefore some nation must take a unilateral initiative.

They will therefore be calling on the Government of each country passed through to abandon unconditionally nuclear weapons, and all other weapons of mass destruction, and to leave military alliances based on nuclear weapons, and which perpetuate the Cold War.

In the nuclear age war cannot under any circumstances settle major conflicts, as any conventional war is liable to develop into a nuclear war. So the use of violence must be abandoned in favour of non-violence. Therefore Governments should end conscription for good, start reducing their conventional forces, and explore the potentialities of non-violent resistance as a means of resisting oppression.

They will be appealing to the people in each country to take personal responsibility for working for unconditional disarmament by their country, and will state in the Walk leaflet that some members of the team have taken part in protest demonstrations, other have refused to pay taxes for war, or have refused military service, or have undertaken non-violent direct action at missile bases and atom plants.

Their aim is to take their message to the people in each country, and they hope to do this with the co-operation of the authorities in each case. But should any country prevent the team's entrance, or should they be admitted, but prevented from handing out their leaflets or carrying their banners, they will have no alternative but to protest through some form

town.
The marchers were met at the boundary of Coventry by a delegation including the secretary of the Trades Council, a shop steward of Massey-Fergusson, a Labour Councillor, and Billy Buxton, a delegate from the Electrical Trades Union.

The Lord Mayor of Coventry greeted the marchers on Tuesday from the Town Hall steps. A lunch-time meeting was held in the city with delegations from nine factories.

STOPPAGE

At the chairman's call about 100 workers (including 20 shop stewards) prolonged the lunch hour by half-an-hour as token industrial stoppage protesting against Polaris.

The speakers were full-time officials of the ETU, the Metal Mechanics' Union and the Chairman of the Trades Council. About 100 people were present.

A smaller meeting was held on the outskirts of Coventry with 30 workers. Two Coventry men gave up their work for the day and joined the march for the trek to Nuneaton.

The hard core of 20 marchers going all the way has been increased on the average to about 30 by people joining for the day. On some days the number has been as high as 60.

The marchers include a doctor, bricklayer, secretary, film editor, teacher, nursery nurse, draughtsman, stage manager, research assistant, bus conductor, engineer—and a *Daily Mail* reporter who has been given the assignment of going all the way with the march, and is doing all the things the marchers do: sleeping in halls and private houses; attending the marchers' group meetings and discussions.

Their programme for the next ten days appears on page two. Among the latest trade union supporters of the Polaris Protest are: Dumbarton AEU Branch No. 1; Sheffield AEU Branch No. 18 SE; Luton AEU Branch No. 12; Glasgow AEU Branch No. 12; Paisley AEU Branch No. 2; Coventry AEU Branch No. 265 CE; Bristol No. 60 Branch of United Patternmakers' Assn.; AESD Bradford Branch; AEU Aberdeen Branch No. 8; AEU Dundee Branch No. 29 DS; ETU Bristol Central Branch; also Walton Constituency Labour Party (Liverpool).

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Saturday, April 22, 3 p.m.

A training course for Christian Socialists 'Common Ownership and World Hunger' The Lecture Hall, Clapham Baths, Clapham Manor St., S.W.4. (Nr. Clapham Common and Clapham North tube stations.)

Speaker: Norman Hart

Admission free

group constitute a threat to this society? Was it a dangerous talk? Is there no difference between the occasional safety-valve and sustained access by minority groups to the centralised media of communication? Is this sustained access possible, on controversial issues, to Plaid Cymru . . . the Unitarian Church . . . to atheists and republicans . . . the Communist Party . . . the New Left? How does our present situation compare with 100 years ago where the minority had access, on less unequal terms, to the printing press, the soap-box, and the public hall? Is there not a curious (even authoritarian?) deadness somewhere—an increasing segregation of dissenting minorities into little journals and occasionally the Third Programme or some "free speech" corner, while the major opinion-forming media give us something uncontroversial or entertaining or for our good?

—E. P. Thompson in a letter to *The Listener*.

Should Eichmann hang?

From Bjoern Hallstroem, the Quaker journalist, who is reporting the Eichmann trial for Peace News.

OPINION here in Israel as the trial opens seems divided on whether Eichmann should hang or not.

The plea made by Victor Gollancz has made a great impression.

While many are saying that you cannot hang Eichmann six million times and that Israel can afford such a humanitarian gesture as forgiving an enemy, many consider Eichmann's personal fate unimportant. Much more important is making known to the world the truth about Jewish sufferings.

Important question marks hang over the attitudes to the trial of the Arabs in old Jerusalem and of the Russians.

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Negotiations with the Russian authorities for the entry of the march into the Soviet Union and with all other Communist states are being carried out by the American committee in co-operation with the US Quaker body, the American Friends Service Committee.

Volunteers for the march should apply to the European office of the march at 87, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2 (Tel.: HOLborn 6860). The European Secretary is April Carter, former secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

IN PN NEXT WEEK

There will be a discussion between Alan Litherland and Michael Randle on the next demonstration of the Committee of 100.

Hugh Brock will continue his series on the Century of Total War, and there will be more news—from Scotland, the United States and the marchers to the Holy Loch.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors held its final meeting last Saturday. A report of the social gathering which followed and was attended by many veterans of World War I will also appear.

AFTER ALDERMASTON

TO all who helped sell *Peace News* on the Aldermaston and Wethersfield marches our very grateful thanks, and in particular to Jack and Sally Bennett, supply organisers from Colchester, who worked heroically against all the difficulties of the new march.

Weather prevented a sell out of our special Aldermaston issue. Copies of this excellent issue are therefore available free, for free distribution from door to door, to pass on to sympathisers, circulate among students, youth groups, at churches, Labour and Liberal meetings, etc., etc. Please send or call for a quantity today. Include postage if you can.

Keep up the Aldermaston spirit by getting more and more of your friends to take *Peace News* regularly.

by their country, and will state in the Walk leaflet that some members of the team have taken part in protest demonstrations, other have refused to pay taxes for war, or have refused military service, or have undertaken non-violent direct action at missile bases and atom plants.

Their aim is to take their message to the people in each country, and they hope to do this with the co-operation of the authorities in each case. But should any country prevent the team's entrance, or should they be admitted, but prevented from handing out their leaflets or carrying their banners, they will have no alternative but to protest through some form of non-violent civil disobedience, such as remaining at the border or facing arrest rather than allow their basic message to be obscured.

Walkers therefore will have to face the possibility of imprisonment, and will not expect an expensive legal defence if they are arrested or convicted.

All walkers pledge themselves to non-violence in word and deed, no matter what the provocations they face.

Briefly

Earl Russell is to address the Midlands Region Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's inaugural Regional Conference at the Midlands Institute, Paradise Street, Birmingham 1 on Saturday, April 15, at 2 p.m., on Civil Disobedience.

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America—some 25,000 people walked for peace on Easter Saturday. The weather was consistently bad from Seattle to New York, but Americans walked, sang, prayed and generally demonstrated their opposition to the arms race. These Easter demonstrations were the first large scale American demonstrations against nuclear weapons and policies since World War II.



In the Bavarian town of Miltenberg demonstrators listened to speakers like Stephan Andres the writer and other similar speakers. The march began in a nearby rocket base and went to Frankfurt, a distance of 54 miles. County policemen disobeyed the orders of the Federal Government of Bavaria and did not carry pistols or truncheons.

The final rally of one of the several marches which took place in Germany over the Easter week-end.

'A thousand thanks to those who march' —says ALBERT SCHWEITZER

The British press has scarcely mentioned the Aldermaston-style rallies and marches that were held in many countries around the world at Easter.

The pictures and reports on this page and the next give some indication of the rising tide of protest abroad.



present at a rally in San Francisco which ended a 50-mile march. 2,000 people took part in a four-mile walk in Los Angeles which followed vigils at the Atomic Energy Commission and the Rand Corporation. In Seattle a demonstration began with a two hour vigil and included a six mile walk finishing with a rally.

Loop. More than 1,500 walked and 2,500 attended the rally.

In countless American cities and towns there were smaller demonstrations representing the first steps there in public concern and protest, all immensely significant, such as those held in Madison (Wisconsin), Milwaukee, Washington, Hartford (Connecticut), Boston and Cleveland.

In Canada marches were held in seven cities: Montreal, Toronto, Regina, Vancouver, Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Quebec. 700 marchers in Montreal plodded on through a sudden blizzard of snow and slush. In Toronto about 1,000 marched.

Across the world in New Zealand, a 45-mile march from Featherston to Wellington began with 40 people on Good Friday and ended with 400 on Easter Monday. "Easter is a festival of life in the face of death."



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